

Town Meeting



BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

Broadcast by Stations of the American Broadcasting Co.



S. Pat. Off.

Should We Cut Marshall Plan Aid Now?

Moderator, **GEORGE V. DENNY, Jr.**

Speaker

PAUL G. HOFFMAN

Interrogators

PHILIP L. WARDEN

BLAIR MOODY

(See also page 12)

COMING

— April 11, 1950 —

Do We Have an Alternative to the Cold War?

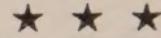
— April 18, 1950 —

What Effect Do Our Race Relations Have on Our Foreign Policy?

Published by THE TOWN HALL, Inc., New York 18, N. Y.



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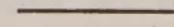
THE BROADCAST OF APRIL 11: "Do We Have an Alternative to the Cold War?"



THE BROADCAST OF APRIL 18: "What Effect Do Our Race Relations Have on Our Foreign Policy?"



The Broadcast of April 4, 1950, originated in the Mosque Auditorium, Richmond, Virginia, from 9:00 to 9:30 p.m., EST, under the auspices of the Richmond Chamber of Commerce over the American Broadcasting Company Network.



Town Meeting is published by The Town Hall, Inc., Town Meeting Publication Office: 400 S. Front St., Columbus 15, Ohio. **Send subscriptions and single copy orders to Town Hall, New York 18, N. Y.** Subscription price, \$4.50 a year. 10c a copy. Entered as second-class matter, May 9, 1942, at the Post Office at Columbus, Ohio, under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Town Meeting

BULLETIN OF AMERICA'S TOWN MEETING OF THE AIR

GEORGE V. DENNY, JR., MODERATOR



APRIL 4, 1950

VOL. 15, No. 49

Should We Cut Marshall Plan Aid Now?

Announcer:

Tonight we invite you to join us in the cigarette capital of the Nation, historic Richmond, Virginia, where we are broadcasting before an audience of 5,000 people in the Mosque Auditorium. Our host organization is the Richmond Chamber of Commerce, one of the oldest in the United States, having been organized in 1867—just two years after the close of the War Between the States.

With excellent transportation facilities to serve this great tobacco center, as well as its other diversified industries, Richmond is the Mecca for thousands of tourists every year. They come here to see such famous shrines as St. John's Church, where Patrick Henry delivered his "Liberty or death" oration, the State Capitol building, designed by Thomas Jefferson, and the Edgar Allan Poe shrine.

Town Meeting salutes the Richmond Chamber of Commerce and our local ABC Station, WRNL, whose Radio Center is one of the finest broadcasting plants in the country. Now to preside over our discussion, here is your Moderator, the president of Town Hall in New York, and founder of America's Town Meeting, George V. Denny, Jr. Mr. Denny. (applause)

Moderator Denny:

Good evening, neighbors. We are greatly pleased to be holding our Town Meeting here in Richmond, Virginia, right under the auspices of the Richmond Chamber of Commerce. Not far from where we are meeting tonight is the spot where Patrick Henry uttered the immortal words, "Give me liberty or give me death!"

This is a most appropriate setting for us to be discussing a question involving the preservation of liberty of the American people as well as the freedom-loving people of Europe.

The European Recovery Act, known as the Marshall Plan, which celebrated its second birthday yesterday, has been considered a prime factor in our defense against advancing communism in Europe. It is a four-year plan which has to meet the test of Congressional approval each year for its appropriations—and that means the approval of the American people through their Congress. The appropriation requested for the next fiscal year is \$2,950,000,000.

As is our custom in such cases, we have invited the busy head of this vast enterprise to discuss this question with us, and to answer the questions of two representative American journalists and this fine representative audience here in Richmond.

We are proud to present the man who has won the lasting gratitude and admiration of freedom-loving people of two continents—a great American business leader who is head of the Economic Recovery Administration, Mr. Paul Hoffman. Mr. Hoffman. (Applause)

Mr. Hoffman:

Mr. Denny, ladies and gentlemen. The discussion tonight is supposed to deal with the question of whether Marshall Plan aid should be cut. Actually the question is whether Marshall Plan aid should be further cut. Annual expenditures for foreign aid have already voluntarily been sharply reduced by ECA.

The first year of the program, our expenditures amounted to approximately \$5,000,000,000. This fiscal year our appropriation is \$3,800,000,000.

Our requested appropriation for the next fiscal year is \$2,950,000,000 net—a cut from first year expenditures of more than \$2,000,000,000.

We in ECA feel deeply that any further cut now would jeopardize two cherished goals of the American people: first, winning the cold war, and, second, the establishment of a just and lasting peace.

Let's see what has been accomplished with the money already spent. During the last two years, funds administered by ECA have supplied the mouths of Europe with food, the machines of Europe with raw materials, and the hands of

Europe with tools. Factories have been rebuilt and farms restocked.

But there are other, perhaps greater, benefits that cannot be measured entirely in material terms. By helping Europeans to achieve better living conditions and by restoring hope to European hearts that were almost without hope, ECA funds have helped to stop the Communist drive for Western Europe dead in its tracks.

When I think how nearly that drive came to success I still shudder. Only the hope of the Marshall Plan in 1947 and the fact of the Marshall Plan in 1948 kept France and Italy on our side of the Iron Curtain, and, if France and Italy had gone, the struggle on the part of the other countries of Western Europe to remain free would have been all but futile.

Yes, we have won battles, but we have not yet won the cold war even in Western Europe. The men from Moscow still have as their goal world conquest, and that goal cannot be achieved unless all Western European countries are subjugated.

In fact, unless Western Europe is enslaved, the Kremlin cannot consolidate its present gains, and the Kremlin knows it. Why else should Tito's defection in Yugoslavia be such a focus of Communist hatred?

Let no one think it's only the 275 million of Western Europe whose fortunes would be acutely affected by a communist take-over of that continent. The consequences to 150 million Americans—to you and to me—would be disastrous. Our anger would not come from the feeble Communist fifth column in this country. It would come from the greatly increased defense expenditures that would be necessary if Western Europe should fall. Instead of 13½ billions for defense, we might have to spend 25 billions. We would face giant deficits.

The United States might well become a garrison state, and the very freedoms we are seeking to defend might be lost. Nothing I have said should be taken as a criticism of defense expenditures at this unhappy moment in world history. They have an essential purpose, but let's keep that purpose clearly in mind. They are justified if they keep the Kremlin from marching, so that we have time to win the titanic struggle that's now going on between the slave world and the free world for the minds and loyalties of men. That struggle is being sustained on the economic and informational fronts. This struggle for the minds and loyalties of men hasn't

the drama of a shooting war, but as General Marshall said only yesterday, "Winning this struggle is as vital to the peace and prosperity of the world as any military campaign in history."

I believe the General is 100 per cent right. I feel that it is just as important to win this so-called cold war as it was to win World War II.

Eleven years ago there were three tough dictatorships in the world—Hitler, Mussolini, and Stalin. All three have helped to make this an insecure, unhappy, war-blighted era. Two have gone the way of all dictatorships. The third will go too, if we don't give up the fight, for evil does have within itself the seeds of its own destruction, and truth, yes truth is mighty and will prevail. (Applause)

Moderator Denny:

Thank you, Mr. Hoffman. I'd like to start this question period, this heckling around the microphone, Mr. Hoffman by asking you a couple of questions out of my nonpartisan ignorance. First, Mr. Hoffman, we want to know just how ECA works. First, will you tell us just how the more than \$8,000,000,000 voted for Marshall Plan Aid has been spent over the past two years?

Mr. Hoffman: I'm to do all that in one minute, or less! Well the \$8,000,000,000 has been spent about 70 per cent in America for wheat, cotton, tobacco, machine tools, and metals—for goods that Europe had to have—which could be bought only with dollars if Europe was to recover, and continue to function, I might add.

The other 30 per cent of our dollars went first to foreign countries, or other countries, and was spent there for goods that Europe had to have. But those dollars only stopped for a moment. They came, or will come, back to America, because dollars always have to come home to be spent.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Hoffman. Is that what you mean by the double duty dollar that you and your associates talk about?

Mr. Hoffman: No, Mr. Denny. That's something else again. We speak of a double duty dollar, because we have a mysterious thing called a counterpart fund in these foreign countries, which I think I can best explain by taking an example.

Let's say that the textile manufacturers in Italy need some cotton in order to make goods. They don't have dollars; they

have plenty of liras. So the cotton manufacturer takes his liras to his government, he exchanges them for dollars, he sends the dollars to America and buys cotton with those dollars. But his liras go into what is called a counterpart fund in Italy. They are spent in Italy in order to promote recovery in that country.



—International

Paul Hoffman (right) talks with Premier DeGasperi of Italy about that country's plans for the future.

They have been spent for roads, to rebuild roads, to rebuild bridges, to do some housing work in Southern Italy, and for numerous other purposes, all contributing to the recovery of Italy.

So first the dollar provides exchange to a man who has to have goods he can buy only with dollars, and, second, the liras that that manufacturer puts up go into a fund, and so we think in a very real way our dollars do do double duty. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Hoffman, very much. Now we are going to take some really expert question askers—the newspapermen. Two distinguished journalists we have here with us tonight to represent the journalists of the country—Mr. Philip Warden, the Washington correspondent of the

Chicago Tribune, and Mr. Blair Moody, Washington correspondent for the Detroit News. They are going to put some questions to you, Mr. Hoffman, and I think we are going to call first on Mr. Warden. Mr. Warden.

Mr. Warden: Mr. Hoffman, your principal argument for continuing the Marshall Plan without cuts has been that Marshall Aid has stopped communism in its track in Western Europe. I have a question about that claim.

When General Marshall made his European Recovery proposal three years ago, he counted on Russia being a participant. Russia's rejection of his invitation to join the Marshall Plan was a hard blow to him. Mr. Hoffman, in that invitation General Marshall did not include any requirement that Russia disavow communism to receive our dollar aid. In fact, he had told Congress time and again that the United States cannot dictate economic policies to the participating countries.

Is it not true, Mr. Hoffman, that the decision to sell the Marshall Plan to the American people as a weapon for stopping communism came long after the aid experiment was conceived?

This "Stop, Russia," label you have pinned on the Marshall Plan was a clever move to win the support of people who thoughtlessly accept labels. It subsequently has been sung loud and long by the politicians it keeps in office, and by the New York bankers and business giants who have reaped the real profits from this multi-billion dollar give-away program.

Is it not true, Mr. Hoffman, that only three of the seventeen countries of Western Europe participating in the Marshall Plan—France, Italy, and Greece—had real Communist problems when the Marshall Plan Aid started flowing two years ago?

Is it not equally true that strong anti-Communist parties existed then, as now, in France and Italy, so that there was never any chance that the Communists would take over the governments of France and Italy without resorting to military force?

Mr. Denny: That's a triple-barreled question, Mr. Hoffman, but step right up.

Mr. Hoffman: That was a combination of speech and some questions. I'll try to catch them one by one. I'll take the last one and answer it first.

Mr. Warden has asked me if it wasn't true that there were anti-Communist parties in all countries, and that in only

three countries was there a definite danger of Communist take-over.

Quite correct. At the time the Marshall Plan actually got under way, a Communist take-over was a real threat actually only in Italy and France. But anyone who was in Europe in 1947 or early '48, who went there with open mind, will testify that the danger of a take-over was very real; that it was only the hope of the Marshall Plan, and interim aid, and the fact of the Marshall Plan that prevented that take-over, in my opinion.

Now, as far as the other countries are concerned, can you conceive a continent of Europe composed of free nations, free of influence of the Kremlin, if France and Italy had fallen under the Communist net?

I can't. It isn't a possibility.

You can take the case of Finland, as brave and courageous a country as ever carried on, and yet every action they take today has to be taken in light of what Russia is going to think about that action. You would have had a Communist take-over first, but you'd have had Communist domination of Western Europe if it had not been for the Marshall Plan.

(Applause)

Mr. Warden: Mr. Hoffman, you apparently reason that the people who are hungry and desperate will turn to Communism as a means of improving their condition. That would suggest that the countries behind the Russian Iron Curtain accepted communism because it offered them something better than what they had. That certainly was not the case in Rumania, that was not the case in Czechoslovakia, that was not the case in Poland, Hungary, Bulgaria, or the Baltic countries.

These countries are communistic today because of Russian military coups. Not because their people chose communism as a way out. Do you believe that the people of France or Italy would have chosen communism as a way out?

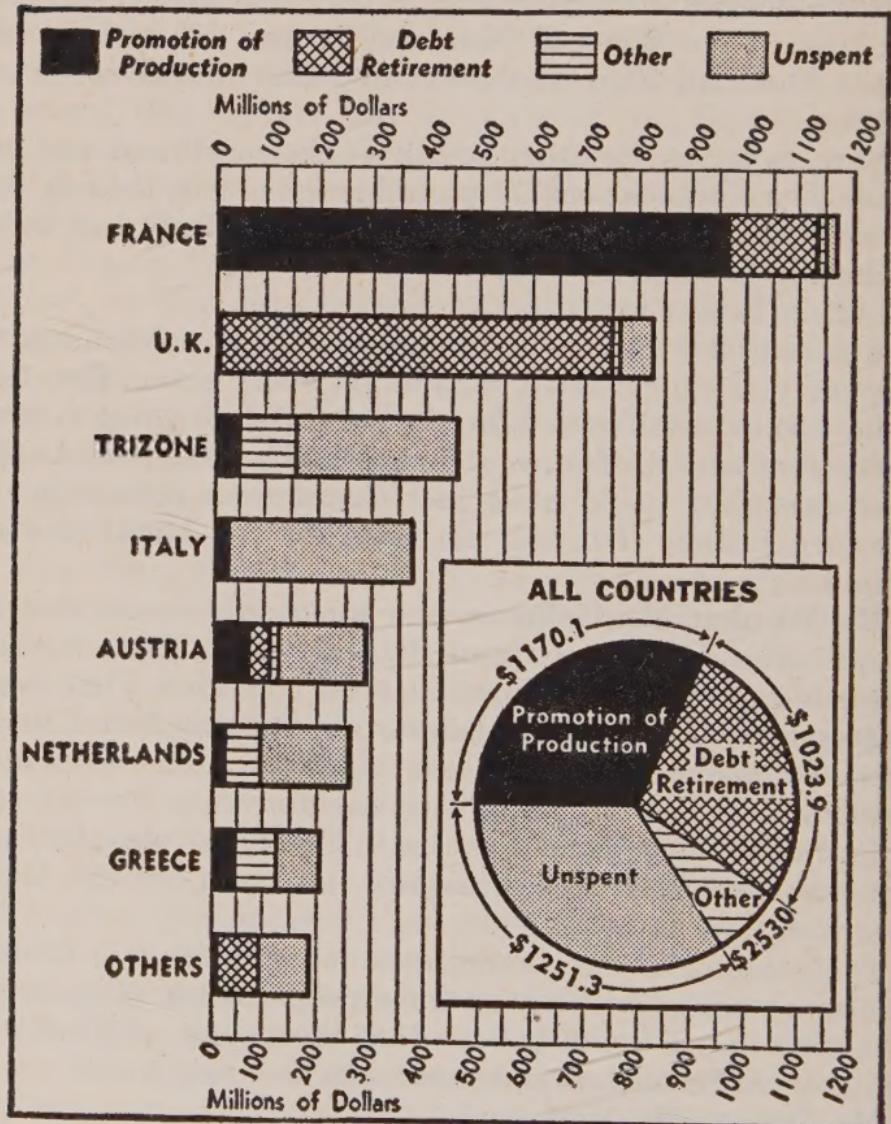
Mr. Denny: Mr. Hoffman?

Mr. Hoffman: As far as I know, no one has ever fled to Moscow. No one has ever made a free choice of communism in any country. The method by which the Communists take over is through, of course, fifth columns operating within the country. The technique I can describe to you in detail. Let me try and hit the high spots.

I do think I know something about this cold war and how Russia is waging it.

The fifth column in every country where we have been carrying on our program attempts first of all to sabotage production. That is done, of course, physically—calling strikes Moscow-inspired; inciting riots; doing everything to stop pro-

HOW COUNTERPART FUNDS ARE DIVIDED



duction—and also, at the same time, an informational campaign is carried on of deceitful propaganda filled with false promises. The idea being first to create despair and misery, and to destroy hope.

Then at the right moment, with guns from Moscow, the Communists pull off that military coup. They go together.

This cold war, as I said in my opening statement, is a war that calls for informational and economic activities.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Hoffman. Now before we go on with Mr. Moody's questions, and while we get ready for our question period, here's a message for our Town Meeting listeners.

Announcer: From Richmond, Virginia, we are presenting America's Town Meeting of the Air, the Nation's favorite radio forum. Our subject is "Should We Cut Marshall Plan Aid Now?" Our guest speaker, Paul G. Hoffman, ECA administrator, is being interrogated by Philip L. Warden, of the *Chicago Tribune*, and Blair Moody, of the *Detroit News*.

This important discussion will be published in its entirety in the Town Meeting Bulletin. You may obtain a copy of tonight's broadcast and the next ten issues of the Bulletin by sending \$1 to Town Hall, New York 18, New York. The Bulletin is \$4.50 a year, or 10 cents for single copies.

If you want to be better informed on topics of national and world importance, why not subscribe this week to the Town Meeting Bulletin? Many issues covering programs within the last two seasons are still in print. We will be happy to send you a list of available issues upon request. When you write, don't you tell us what subjects you would like to hear on future Town Meetings?

Now, we return you to Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: Before our question period we will have some further interrogation by Mr. Moody of the *Detroit News*. Yes, Mr. Moody.

Mr. Moody: Well, Mr. Hoffman, we've heard a lot of complaints from certain sources about using American dollars to help Europe regain its strength. I'd like to ask you tonight, what is the alternative to the Marshall Plan? What would happen to Europe and to the United States if this oxygen were withdrawn prematurely from our convalescent allies? Would it cost us, now and in the long run, less or more?

Mr. Hoffman: Well, of course, I think actually the Marshall Plan has not cost the American taxpayer a dime, for this reason: I'm sure if there hadn't been a Marshall Plan, and there had been communistic influence in Western Europe, or Communist take-over, our increased defense expenditures in '48, and '49 would have been more than the actual layout of the plan itself.

Mr. Moody: Mr. Hoffman, I'd like to ask you another one about the situation as it exists today in Europe. Some time

ago you made a statement, I believe, that you were not entirely satisfied with Europe's progress toward integration. I'd like to have you tell this audience what progress is being made and what is being done in Europe now, under the leadership indirectly, of the United States to tear down the trade barrier that have stood up in Europe over the centuries.

Mr. Hoffman: Well, I think there is a general feeling among all people who have studied the European economy that it is the effort of each one of the 17 separate countries to become self-sufficient that creates the greatest block toward Europe becoming self-supporting. Therefore this matter of integration

THE SPEAKERS' COLUMN

PAUL GRAY HOFFMAN—Mr. Hoffman, formerly president of the Studebaker Corporation, is now administrator of the Economic Cooperation Administration. Born in Chicago in 1891, he attended the University of Chicago, and has honorary degrees from many colleges and universities. Joining the Studebaker Corporation as a salesman in 1911, he later became sales manager of the Los Angeles branch, district branch manager, and vice president. In 1935, he became president, a post he held until 1948, when President Truman named him for his present position. He is also president of the Board of the Paul G. Hoffman Company and the Hoffman Specialty Company.

Mr. Hoffman is a director of the New York Life Insurance Company, United Air Lines, Encyclopedia Britannica, Inc., and Encyclopedia Britannica Films, Inc., the Chicago Corporation, and the Automobile Manufacturers Association. He is the author of *Seven Roads to Safety*.

ARTHUR EDSON BLAIR MOODY—Born in New Haven, Connecticut, in 1902, Mr. Moody received his A.B. degree from Brown University in 1922. For one year, he was an instructor and coach at the Moses Brown School in Providence. Since 1923, he has been on the staff of the *Detroit News*. He has been sports writer (1923-24), reporter (1924-33), and Washington correspondent and columnist (since 1933).

From 1934 to 1948, Mr. Moody was Washington correspondent for *Barren's Financial Weekly*; since 1936, for the North American Newspaper Alliance. During the war, he was a war correspondent in North Africa, Italy, Iran, and Great Britain. He was also a foreign correspondent during parts of 1947 and 1948.

Mr. Moody has served as moderator of the radio broadcast "Meet Your Congress" since 1946, and of the telecast since 1949. He was an economic consultant for the Committee for Economic Development in 1944-45.

In addition to his news writing, Mr. Moody is the author of *Boom or Bust*.

PHILIP L. WARDEN—Mr. Warden is an assistant correspondent with the Washington Bureau of the *Chicago Tribune*.

f these economies, the creation of a single market, is of all importance.

The Europeans have done quite well. If the times were normal, we would be applauding the progress they have made. They have removed 50 per cent of their quantitative restrictions. They have taken other measures.

The difficulty is that in the next 25 months we have to accomplish as much as might be normally accomplished in 5 years. We are dissatisfied only because these times call for effort that might well be classed as almost an impossible fort on the part of the European countries.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Hoffman.

QUESTIONS, PLEASE!

Mr. Denny: Now we will go into the audience and start with the gentleman down there in the center. Yes?

Man: Mr. Hoffman, how far can we go in support of the Marshall Plan without pauperizing the European nations?

Mr. Hoffman: The European nations in the past two years have themselves brought about this recovery which General Marshall called a near miracle. They raised their income from the level of 138 billion dollars in 1947 to over 160 billion dollars last year.

It was our aid that provided the dynamic quality, but it was the work of the Europeans that did it. Don't let anyone think that the Europeans are not working hard, because they are. If they hadn't been working hard, their industrial production may would not be 20 per cent above what it was prewar.

We're not pauperizing them; we are giving them the strength to get back on their own feet. And believe me, there are no people anywhere more anxious to stand on their own feet than the Europeans. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Mr. Hoffman. All the questions seem to be for you, Mr. Hoffman, so we're going to have Mr. Warden and Mr. Moody ask you another one.

Mr. Warden: Mr. Hoffman, in your opening remarks you stated that agricultural production in Europe has about reached prewar levels, that industrial production is 20 per cent above prewar—the highest in Europe's history—and ECA publications show that trade among the Marshall Plan countries and their exports to the rest of the world also are above prewar. How far do we have to boost Europe's production? (Applause)

Mr. Hoffman: The problems that lie ahead in Europe are not production at this time. The production must go much further than it's gone, but we've got to close this dollar gap. Europe has to earn more dollars. That's why we, for the time being, must supply the dollars for those goods that can only be bought in dollar areas. We brought that down from five to four to less than three, and it will come down again next year to two. If that isn't progress, I don't know what progress is. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Mr. Moody?

Mr. Moody: Mr. Hoffman, a few moments ago you mentioned counterpart funds. The fact that the Russian propaganda has been very strong in Europe, and in some cases stronger than ours, has also been widely discussed. Can you tell us what is being done with counterpart funds in Europe to counteract that?

Mr. Hoffman: We have under way in Europe an informational campaign that we think is bringing understanding, not only of the Marshall Plan, but of democracy and its ideals, and of America. There was no country ever more misunderstood anywhere than the United States was in Europe.

I think a great job is being done, bringing an understanding of America to Europe. We are using for that purpose, largely, these counterpart funds I described — counterpart funds which translated into dollars would amount to about 12 million dollars this year. A real campaign is going on.

Mr. Denny: Thank you. Now the young lady down there.

Lady: Mr. Hoffman, is continued charity to such a great extent as covered in the Marshall Plan demoralizing human initiative? That is, is it a glorified WPA? (Applause)

Mr. Hoffman: The greatness of the Marshall concept was that this was a program designed to lift people above the need of charity. That is the best of all charity. It was a *recovery* program. We simply gave Europe the food with which to have the strength to work. We are giving them the tools to work with. It's just as different from a relief program as would be a program of financing the head of a family with a tool chest against giving that family food from day to day. (Applause)

Mr. Denny: Thank you. The young man way over on the side.

Man: Mr. Hoffman, in order for European countries to recover they must trade with us. How can they do this when we are so economically independent?

Mr. Hoffman: Trading with the United States is very diffi-

cult because we are an extremely efficient Nation. However, I believe that we can level off our trade with Europe at a sufficiently high point so that it will not bring disaster to the Europeans and discomfort, at least, to us, provided the Europeans hustle and send us goods we want, and providing we don't stop those goods from coming in.

Mr. Denny: Thank you.

Man: Mr. Hoffman, does the Marshall Plan have any pro-



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visions for checking upon its effect upon the morals and the rehabilitation of these people, and, if so, how can we know whether we are fighting a winning or a losing battle?

Mr. Hoffman: We have many ways to check that. You can check it, of course, by statistics. We can check it by knowing what's happening as far as their leanings toward communism are concerned, because communism is a gospel of despair.

In France, the last check showed that of the people who knew about the Marshall Plan only 16 per cent felt it was a bad thing, whereas in 1946 when the last election was held, the Communists won 28 per cent of the vote in France.

Mr. Denny: Thank you, Paul Hoffman, Philip Warden, and Blair Moody, and also thanks to our hosts, the Richmond Chamber of Commerce and station WRNL, for their grand hospitality. Now in just a moment I'll tell you about our subjects and speakers for next week. (*Applause*)

Announcer: During these broadcasts of America's Town Meeting, there are one-minute announcements at the opening, middle, and closing of the program for the commercial message of our local sponsors throughout the country. However, on the station to which you are listening, Town Meeting is not now sponsored. If you operate a bank, a department store, or sell automobiles, if you publish a newspaper, or manage a retail firm or industry, you will find that it pays to sponsor Town Meeting in your city.

In large and small cities across the Nation, outstanding leaders of business and organizations are joining with us to expand the effectiveness of Town Meeting and the traditions for which it stands. The manager of this station will be glad to give you further details. We suggest that you call him first thing tomorrow.

Now, to tell you about next week's program here is Mr. Denny.

Mr. Denny: Next week from Charlottesville, Virginia, we will discuss the intensely interesting question, "Do We Have an Alternative to the Cold War?" Our speakers will be Senator Ralph E. Flanders, Republican of Vermont; Marquis Childs, author and columnist; and Clarence Streit, president of Federal Union, Inc.

Plan to be with us next week and every week at the sound of the crier's bell. (*Applause*)